1;Stanford U. 3-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

441 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the
115 Ch'ing rulers.

441 The business group in Shansi increasingly
453 gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

• 177 ## III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

19th century, the North China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon which had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[18]

The North China Region felt the impact of the West later and was less profoundly

---

18. The course and affect of Imperial China's interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H.B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 volumes, London, Longman, Green, and Co., 1910-1918; and John K. Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the material used in the following pages is taken from these sources.

179 influenced by it than the Central-South and East China regions. The imperial government not only resisted the Western intrusion, but also reacted against attempts at internal political, and economic reform initiated outside the North China Region. Most of the imperial officials and educated elite from Shansi and Hopei remained committed to the old tradition and the ruling dynasty. Some of these men saw the need of adopting the technical knowledge and advances of the West to preserve China and the throne, but they rejected fundamental changes in the traditional political, social, and economic system that would have permitted China to establish the basis necessary for supporting and managing a technical civilization.

In the post-imperial period up to World War II, material and ideological change made little headway in the North China Region. Shansi and Hopei were ruled by strong men who had retained the loyalty of personal armies built up in the service of the Manchu Dynasty. The continuance of warlord rule in Shansi and Hopei after the establishment of the Nationalist Government and the inroads of Japan into the provinces after 1933 barred wide dissemination of the Kuomintang program. Only in the foreign concessions and in Chinese educational institutions at Peking and Tientsin was there any wide awareness of the new ideas in the country.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

B. The North and Political Reaction

177
648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to south-western Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

643
178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

178 Confucianism as the basis of the nation, and scorned the adoption of such western institutions as constitutional monarchy, democracy, and personal liberty.

These ideas published in 1898 represented social and political reaction following China's defeat by Japan. More forward leaders from the South were then demanding rapid political and social reform on a grand scale, including the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Under their inspiration, an attempt was made by the young emperor to institute rapid reform in 1898, but within three months the efforts ended in his deposition by Tz'u Hsi. She hounded out of Peking and the country such of his southern ministers as she could not arrest and execute. Chang Chih-tung continued to serve the dynasty while it gave way, too little and too late, to the rising demand for reform and constitutional monarchy.

C. Anti-Foreignism

● 179 The Westerner encountered violence wherever China was forced to permit him residence in the country, but the worst outbursts of anti-foreignism occurred in Hopei and Shansi. Provincial and local officials in the two provinces were not only within reach and influence of the Manchu court, but were also largely sympathetic to its reactionary

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~China AF12~~ AF12

and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

The focus of anti-foreignism throughout China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

A decade of violence against Christian missionaries throughout China reached a climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
799 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

A more violent and bloody manifestation of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians and Chinese converts

Anti-foreign hatred and violence initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

177 fled the capital before its fall, and the Western
579 soldiers plundered and looted the city far more
728 devastatingly than they had forty years earlier.
648 Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

642 The example of Japan's defeat of Russia
669 following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River and immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

538 by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the development of literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (Oct. 1949 to April 1950) with the six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change: the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was, and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, including, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

A. Translations from Russian Literature

538
177 Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939), Ostrovsky's How Steel was tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin

---

13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la littérature Chinoise contemporaire, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. IX, No. 35, July 1948, p. 251.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

538 Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming,
197 and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature poetry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

---

15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Time Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of the influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

538 Since the establishment of the Central
●177 People's Government, delegations of Russian
877 authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which has branches throughout China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society [16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include

---

16. The society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of Sciences at Peking.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

535 Tibetans in Southwest China, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and the "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring bellerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[27]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, which is a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[28] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

177 533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world."

---

26. Ibid., July 1954.

27. Ibid., May 1954.

28. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

• [177] A municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky
533 and is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for the new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of mar[illegible]al spirit in the youth.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

They (the gilds) impose their will on traders in and out of the gilds, and may even, through the measure known as the "cessation of all business" cause the government to modify or withdraw its orders.[1]

In general, however, the guildsmen are urged to settle affairs among themselves in their own way and, if possible, to have nothing whatsoever to do with the officials.

It is agreed that members having disputes about money (and, in practice, any other) matters with each other shall submit their case to arbitration at a gild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it prove impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the authorities; but if the complainant resorts to the courts in the first instance, without first referring to the gild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring before the gild he will not be entitled to redress.[2]

In Appendix B will be found several detailed descriptions of contests between officials who desire to get as much money as they can out of these organizations and the guildsmen standing as a unit opposed to their demands. The growing power of municipal government in the large cities of China, however, is weakening the isolation and independence of the guilds, and the increasing strength of the local police is making their former autonomy difficult.[3]

THE IMPACT OF EURO-AMERICAN CULTURE ON CHINA

The review just given indicates the age-long background of the guilds; it gives their setting as they existed, unaffected

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[3] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), p. 34.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments.

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools.

[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 19[illegible].

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry). The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking, had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,